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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry. As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking
[262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyan*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodán*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagémiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not
[753 well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not
856] die while *Laglagémiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amónān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa- ● 796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The 574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[537] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking.[1] The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[537] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

1 [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant, *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after, a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

755 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live [757] pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.